

A SOCIALIST COMMENTARY ON COLONIAL AFFAIRS

Venture

JOURNAL OF THE FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU

VOL. I No. 12

JANUARY 1950

MONTHLY 6d.

Incorporating *Empire*

Comment

NIGERIAN DISASTER

THE killing of 19 miners by police fire at Enugu on November 18 was a tragedy that may do permanent political damage if further bitterness is not avoided. On the circumstances of the shooting we make no comment, since they will be examined by the Commission of Enquiry appointed by the Governor. It will be for the Commission to suggest answers to the questions that naturally arise in our minds, such as: Why was it necessary to remove explosives from the coal-mine when the miners had been in 'occupation' of the pit for five days without doing damage? Why were Hausa police sent to deal with Ibo miners? Was tear gas used, as it had been used to disperse a riotous demonstration of miners' wives three days before? Was it necessary for European women to be sheltered in the barracks and for all European men to be armed?

In a sense, the last two questions are the most important. The Enugu shooting was the immediate cause of riots in Aba, Calabar, Port Harcourt, Onitsha and Benin, in which lootings and attacks on Europeans are said to have occurred. Industrial discontent is one thing: racial outbursts quite another. A quarrel with Government or employers could not develop in this form if Nigerians did not feel divorced from the administration. 'Africans have feelings,' writes an African correspondent to the *Bantu Mirror*, whom we quote on page 7 of this issue. On the same page we quote Mr. H. O. Davies, who has given accurate expression to what those feelings often are. We hope that the excellent Commission appointed to enquire into the disorders will interpret its very wide terms of reference sufficiently broadly to include the causes of the underlying bitterness which undeniably exists.

Both the Nigerian Government and its critics are well aware of the long-term answers to basic problems—improved local government, constitutional reform, economic development to raise the standard of living, all are needed and all are being pursued. But the best policy in the world cannot succeed if there is not genuine friendship between officials, politicians and the people. One immediate benefit has been the coming together of rival Nigerian parties in a National Emergency Committee which sent a mission to Enugu composed of leaders of the Nigerian Youth Movement and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons. The mission assisted the local trade union in persuading the miners to leave the pits, and accepted the composition of the Commission of Enquiry. If this kind of positive approach is adopted by all concerned, it will go far to remove the deep-seated frustration which was given its head by the Enugu shooting.

WELCOME, INDIA

ON January 26, the day on which, from 1929 to 1947, Indians demonstrated their desire for complete independence, the new Indian constitution will be proclaimed and a new Republic will come into being. India will remain within the Commonwealth and continue to acknowledge the King as its head, but for herself she chooses a President as head of the State. The Bill passed through the House of Commons on December 5 makes provision for Indians in Britain and the Colonies to retain all the rights which they have at present 'until provision to the contrary is made by the authority having power to alter that law.' Mr. Noel-Baker made clear in his speech that colonial legislatures have not the power to legislate in respect of citizenship. The large Indian communities now resident in the Colonies are therefore assured of their position until the whole

question of citizenship can be thrashed out. The happy way in which the relations of India and the Commonwealth have been determined so far gives ample grounds for believing that a solution to the citizenship problem also can be reached in a form satisfactory to Indians, Africans, Malays, Europeans, and all the rest of the people concerned. At the same time, India's constitution, which provides for 160m. voters, will give heart to all those in the Colonies now deep in the task of constitution-making. When they feel overwhelmed by the complexities of their task, they need only remember that it has taken India three years! The whole Commonwealth welcomes the new Republic.

FEDERATION DROPPED

THE project for a Central African Federation has now been dropped, at least temporarily. The whole procedure on this question has been most instructive. The Victoria Falls Conference, at which not a single African was present, was the first blunder of the Europeans. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia has now stated publicly that Southern Rhodesia's native policy was the rock on which the whole proposition was wrecked: '... the United Kingdom Government would require representation of Africans by Africans from the start ... so, while the ultimate participation of Africans in the central Government was accepted, the fact that they are not yet ready seems to provide a complete deadlock.' Meanwhile, Southern Rhodesian Europeans have wakened up to the fact that most of Northern Rhodesia is composed of Native Reserves and Native Trust Lands and that therefore the possibilities of white settlement further north are very small. In such circumstances, the star of federation has set. In Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Welensky's motion inviting the Imperial Government to take the lead in promoting federation was carried by nine votes to five in the Legislative Council, the official members refraining from voting and the dissentient votes being cast by the four Members representing African interests and one European elected Member. Sir Stewart Gore-Brown stated unequivocally, 'The general verdict of the African public as disclosed at numberless gatherings in all parts of the country is overwhelmingly against federation,' and added that he was opposed to the Victoria Falls proposals 'on the grounds that they appear to be amalgamation by another name.' So fears are allayed for the time being. Yet common sense would suggest that the three central African territories might benefit economically and administratively if they were constitutionally linked. Is there no hope at all that the European populations

concerned may be persuaded to see a common future with the Africans? Certainly there is no answer to Central Africa's problems until they do.

ITALY GOES BACK

THE powers having finished their manoeuvrings for Italian support, the United Nations General Assembly has decided on the fate of the ex-Italian Colonies. A fact-finding commission is to visit Eritrea before any decision is taken on its future; the three areas of Libya—Cyrenaica, Tripoli and the Fezzan—are to be united and independent by 1952, after its people have drawn up a constitution with the assistance of a United Nations' Commissioner advised by representatives of six countries, including Italy; Somaliland is to be independent in ten years, during which it will be administered by Italy as the trustee Power, with the aid of an Advisory Council consisting of representatives of Colombia, Egypt and the Philippines. Ethiopia protested at the delay in reaching a settlement in Eritrea, and on the border there have already been one or two attacks by Ethiopians on Italians which, according to the Italian Ambassador in London, have created 'a most painful impression on Italian public opinion.' The British military authorities in ex-Italian Somaliland are reported to be fearing Somali resistance to the return of the Italians, and Britain has asked the U.N.O. Trusteeship Council to negotiate the trusteeship agreement with Italy as quickly as possible, since Britain intends to withdraw by the end of March, 1950. *The Manchester Guardian* has called this agreement a sorry example of 'horse-trading.' What the Somalis will call it we do not dare to think.

MARGARET WRONG PRIZE

This prize will be offered annually by the Trustees of the Margaret Wrong Memorial Fund for original literary work by writers of African race living in a part of Africa to be decided upon each year by the Trustees.

Regulations for 1950

In 1950 Manuscripts in English or French of length between 5,000-15,000 words are invited from Southern Sudan, Somaliland, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar and the Belgian Congo. The manuscript must be of an imaginative character or descriptive of African life or thought, and suitable for general reading. Manuscripts should reach the following address:—'The Margaret Wrong Prize,' c/o The International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, 2, Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, before December 1, 1950. A silver medal and a money prize, not exceeding £5, will be offered. In the award of the Prize the decision of the Trustees will be final.

INTERNATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY?

I HOPE it will not be said that we resent criticism . . . or that we turn down outside advice on grounds of prestige, or because we consider that the administration of the British Colonies is so perfect that it cannot be improved. . . . We welcome constructive criticisms from any source. . . . Our reasons for not wishing to throw the Colonies into the arena of debate at Lake Success are that criticism there is . . . too infrequently directed to serving the genuine interests of colonial peoples. In the second place, the criticism we receive from the United Nations is characterised by an absence of realism and a failure to put forward practical suggestions, which results naturally and inevitably from the ignorance and inexperience of non-administering powers. Finally, there is the unfortunate and, I am afraid, constant attempt . . . at "back-seat driving" by 58 nations. This section of Lord Listowel's speech in the House of Lords on November 30 has been severely criticised, not only by the professional critics of Britain, but by many who harbour none but the friendliest feelings towards the present British Government. Spokesmen for the British Labour Party used to be in favour of international supervision of colonial territories—there was even an occasion when a Fabian pamphlet was produced at Lake Success to confound the arguments of the present Secretary of State for the Colonies. Why the change of front?

To suggest that there is a change of front is not to suggest that Britain is unwilling to fulfil her obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. Britain has willingly submitted reports on all aspects of administration in the territories administered as a trust under the Trusteeship Committee. Britain has submitted, under Article 73E of the Charter, 'statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions' in the Colonies, 'for information purposes.' Even the political information which is not included in the list can be readily obtained from published sources by anybody who wants it. What Britain is not prepared to do is to have this information discussed by a semi-permanent committee of the U.N. Assembly.

The United Nations have only themselves to blame if they are dissatisfied with the British attitude. Decisions have been taken on issues vitally affecting colonial peoples in an atmosphere of bargaining and lobbying which would disgrace a small town council. The latest, on the ex-Italian

Colonies, was reached by a process which, according to *The Times*, 'reflects little credit either on the old diplomacy of the Great Powers or the new diplomacy of the United Nations.*' The Trusteeship Council, which is not subject to the same pressure, has nevertheless taken some pretty queer decisions, while some delegates to the Assembly have spoken as though the trust territories are administered in trust for the United Nations instead of in trust for their inhabitants. Moreover, there is a general ignorance of the way in which the British relation with the Colonies works, as is repeatedly shown by the uproar which breaks out whenever British delegates refuse to commit the Colonies to international conventions without any expression of opinion from the Colonies themselves. In these circumstances, the British delegates, it seems, dig in their heels, along with the French, the Belgians, the Dutch and the South Africans.

We cannot think that this is a satisfactory position. If the United Nations had the will, we have no doubt that a great fund of goodwill, brains, technical assistance and resources could be brought into action on behalf of the colonial peoples. But ignorant comment will not do, nor high-handed action without regard to the wishes of the people concerned, nor inter-power bargaining for selfish interests. If the Trusteeship Committee wanted, for example, to solve the problem of Togoland and the Cameroons, it could start from the standpoint of the people who live there. What do *they* want? As far as we know, the Ewes in British Togoland want to be united with the Ewes in French Togoland, and the people of the British Cameroons wish to be united with their kinsmen in the French Cameroons. To achieve this, two great Powers would have to agree to boundary alterations. Perhaps it is because they are great Powers that this course is not suggested at U.N.O. Britain administers its strip of Togoland with the Gold Coast, and its strip of the Cameroons with Nigeria, thereby giving both trust territories the advantage of greater resources and administrative skill. But the Trusteeship Council proposes instead that separate budgets and separate administrations should be instituted, and that the United Nations' flag should fly alongside that of Britain. Not so long ago it was suggesting that Britain should take a firm stand against polygamy in the Cameroons. Are these decisions helpful or

* Leading article, November 15, 1949.

genuinely designed to meet the aspirations of the people? The Assembly also has made suggestions, including one on the use of indigenous languages in schools. Many people in the Colonies are exceedingly sensitive on the question of language, which they have every reason to know presents numerous difficulties. Surely their views on this subject should prevail, rather than that of the United Nations Assembly?

Colonial spokesmen themselves tend to have a split mind on the subject. There was African support for the Report of the Trusteeship Committee on Tanganyika, and one or two colonial leaders have urged appeals to U.N.O. over the head of Britain. There are those who argue that such appeals merely divert attention from the real job of building up colonial national movements capable of taking over power. Nor is outside aid necessarily welcomed. We asked an eminent West Indian his opinion, and received the blunt reply, 'As far as the West Indies are concerned, we have nothing to gain by Nicaragua and Guatemala sitting down and writing a constitution for us! Even

Dr. Ruth Sloan, of the American State Department's African Bureau, has provoked some surprisingly straight comment in both Sierra Leone and Nigeria on her goodwill visit. One Nigerian nationalist newspaper printed the astounding sentiment that 'a strong Britain is necessary for world peace, and can protect us. Let not a weak Britain sell us out'!

But a strong Britain anxious to help the Colonies should avoid one thing at Lake Success. Our delegates should remember that no one outside the Commonwealth really grasps the fact that South Africa is a Dominion, and our repeated line-up with South Africa—even on a plain human rights issue like that of the hearing given to the Rev. Michael Scott—may be legally correct but is morally unsound. Britain shares the odium that South Africa earns. Is it not time that our delegates found a way to convey to the United Nations what Lord Listowel said, that Britain does not resent criticism, does not pretend that the Colonies are perfect, and will welcome United Nations' help whenever it is help and not hindrance?

LAND SETTLEMENT IN KENYA

The Fabian Colonial Bureau addressed a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on 24 June, 1949 expressing anxiety at the scanty progress made in African land settlement in Kenya, as compared with the advance in European settlement. It also asked for information on action taken to abolish the objectionable 'squatter' system of labour in the White Highlands. The Colonial Office replied on 18 August as follows:—

Perhaps I may deal first with *African Settlement*. . . .

You will appreciate that a colony-wide programme of betterment and resettlement of African land is a highly complex matter involving many difficult scientific and human problems. Although there is a strong trend of thought in Kenya in favour of bold and imaginative planning and execution of projects (despite the inevitable expense of such a policy) and a general desire for greater speed, sheer necessity has forced a more cautious approach, the deciding factors being the shortage of trained staff and machinery and the need for a clearer understanding among Africans as to what is wanted and how it is to be brought about. That this more cautious approach will pay greater dividends in the long run than a 'results at all costs' policy I have no doubt. Much progress is being made in securing the understanding, goodwill and co-operation of Africans, and this will lay the soundest foundation for progress in the future in every sphere. It is, I think, significant that an ever-

increasing number of schemes is being put forward from the Districts with the full support of the Local Native Councils. African goodwill would, however, be valueless and would most probably be lost unless the various schemes in the main succeed, and in many cases much scientific experimentation and investigation is necessary as the most likely means of ensuring success. These experiments are beginning to show results, and will indicate the basis on which much more ambitious projects can be founded.

Progress may therefore appear superficially to be slow, conditioned as it is by these scientific and human factors. Nevertheless, actual settlement and betterment of land is getting ahead well and, as the preparatory work and experiments proceed, mounting with increasing speed.

Turning now to *European Settlement*, you ask how many European settlers have taken up land and why an area of 384,000 acres of Crown Land has been offered for alienation on 99-year leases. In response to Mr.

Skinnard's question in the House on the 6th July we have asked Kenya for details about settlers taking up land. That information is not yet available, but I will let you have it when it is received from the Governor. We do, however, know that between the end of the war and August, 1947, the number of Europeans taking up land for farming was 669, of whom 575, consisting largely of residential settlers, received no financial assistance from the Government. The remainder received assistance under the Assisted Ownership Scheme and the Tenant Farming Scheme. The final figure for persons settled under these two schemes, which are now closed, is 317.

The 384,000 acres of land 'offered for alienation' is in Northern Laikipia in the Settled Area in the northern part of the Highlands, and consists partly of existing uneconomic holdings and partly of Crown Land as yet unalienated but necessarily added in to bring about effective regrouping. The grazing is so poor and water so scanty that the area is quite unsuitable for African settlement. It can only be efficiently and economically used for large-scale ranching. With a carrying capacity of only one beast to 10-30 acres the Government has reached the conclusion that the minimum economic unit is 30,000 acres, and then only if the most efficient ranching methods are practised.

This regrouping is in line with the Government's policy to bring land in the Settled Area into fuller and more effective use for the benefit of the community as a whole; moreover, by stipulating an expenditure on permanent improvement by the lessees of not less than 3s. 6d. per acre within the first six years and prohibiting subdivision or transfer for ten years—Government is ensuring that a marginal tract of land is brought to its optimum development so as to prove a permanent asset to the Colony; and as such it has my approval.

Squatters and Squatters' Villages

With regard to the position of *squatters* and the development of squatters' villages, you refer in your letter to the statement of policy in 1945 which recommended a development towards a society of crofters and cottagers and of the Committee set up in 1948 to examine the problem further. This Committee, which consisted among others of the Chief Native Commissioner, the Member for Agriculture, and the Member for Health and Local Government, has prepared a statement which, if approved by the Governor in Council, will be printed in booklet form and will afford a basis for public discussion and measures designed to further the evolution of the resident labourer as well as the development of villages in the Settled Area. The only steps so far taken by Government (as apart from private individuals) to develop squatters' villages is being applied experimentally in connection with squatter labour employed by the Forest Department.

I am asking the Governor when this statement of policy will be available and what progress has attended the Forest Department's experiments, and I will write to you again when I hear from him. Meanwhile, I recognise that the status of the resident labourer must be improved, although it should be noted that the income of many of these workers apart from money wages is often quite substantial. Where Government provision cannot readily be made, often the European settlers, either individually or together, also help them by providing

education, medical and welfare facilities and by trying to develop a sense of community spirit and responsibility among them. To preserve the soil, however, steps have been taken to restrict the number of cattle and sheep, etc., pastured by the squatters on their land, and it is generally agreed that in the interests of the whole community this is desirable. I need not elaborate to you the argument, which applies equally to the African areas, that the traditional attitudes towards the ownership of cattle and the way of life based upon it must be replaced in the interests of everyone, and the main asset of the community, the soil, must be preserved by more modern and enlightened ideas and farming techniques. I think also that it must be acknowledged that the Africans concerned must look more and more to improving their wage-earning capacity in order to command a better standard of living, for the realisation of this cannot always be achieved solely from the land.

Saving the Soil

I believe that the Kenya Government, increasingly supported by public opinion, is concerned that a sound land policy should be applied in respect of the African's land problems. The solution does not lie simply in making new land available; it lies in making the best use of the available land. The problem is not only to bring new land into occupation so as to reduce the increasing pressure, but also to ensure that it and the lands already occupied are consistently farmed according to the best methods. The application of this at best is a slow business. Not only must new land be made available for permanent occupation, but land already occupied must be rested and improved, and the African must be persuaded to adopt new ways and stick to them. When I consider the vastness and complexity of the problem, the shortages of technical equipment and qualified staff, and the suspicions of the African—now happily being overcome—I am the more impressed by the progress which has been made and the energy and persistence with which the problem is being tackled.

In accordance with the general policy of making the fullest and most effective use of the land, to do away with 'land mining' and to ensure that the soil is used to increase the prosperity and welfare of the community (an aim which the proposed Agrarian Bill is designed to achieve with the co-operation of the public itself), the Settled Area is also being more closely and beneficially occupied and developed; inefficient farmers are being bought out, development conditions imposed and land speculation prevented. I have no desire to reopen the land controversies of the past. Some adjustments of territory may still be desirable and can perhaps be made by common consent, but radical alterations in land policy would open up a controversy which would prejudice the whole policy of development for Kenya. I recognise the importance of the economy of the African, but I must also recognise that the Settled Area has been developed by European enterprise, and indeed, with African labour, contributes a great part of the economy and prosperity of the country and much of the finance which enables schemes to be undertaken in the territorial interests generally as well as the African interests. By focusing attention on this controversial subject, the really important and basic problem of preserving the soil and ensuring that it makes the maximum possible contribution towards the prosperity of the community tends to be obscured.

COMPASS POINTS

WE are approaching the centre of the storm again. The Communists and bandits (mainly Chinese) are apparently fighting back in Malaya; the lessons of guerilla warfare in the Malayan jungles have been studied at a paper exercise in Accra; in the Gold Coast, although opinion is calmer reports speak of the end of the 'temporary lull' that followed the Coussey Report; in Nigeria, there has been a serious clash at Enugu, setting off a train that led to rioting in all the main centres in the Eastern Provinces. Very hard words have been spoken by Lords Tweedsmuir, Milverton, Rennell, Swinton, etc., against Fabian 'mush' and the Watson Report on the Gold Coast. But hard words buttered no parsnips. In Malaya £3,000,000 are going in 1950 to security. In Africa, one detective is going to help set up a special branch in Uganda, another to train police dogs in Kenya, and a director of M.I.5, Sir Percy Sillitoe, is consulting with Mr. Swart, the South African Minister in Pretoria. Only in Indonesia are there signs of a lull, with the signing of the act of Union of Holland and Indonesia-Serikat in the Hall of the Knights on the 2nd November. Under Queen Juliana the new Union will have no common council, or court, or inter-parliamentary association. On the other hand, the Dutch save £100m. a year in police operations.



A MORE idealistic realism is shown by news of development to meet, not the challenge of anarchy, but the situation fifty years from now, when, given no war, the world population will have increased by 1,000m. In Nigeria, a 230-mile railway from Nguru to Maiduguri will open Bornu and the Lake Chad region to the sea. In October, a most ambitious fertiliser scheme was announced for Northern Nigeria: 16,000 tons of superphosphates to be planted by 1954, on 1,200,000 acres of groundnut land, 45 tractors for rice-growing in the valleys near Sokoto, further purchases of farm machinery, the creation of a pool of farm equipment. Over in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, 700 ploughs have recently been distributed, with bullocks to haul them, under a system of deferred payment. In Tanganyika in October, Sir Edward Twining opened the railway from the sea to Nachingwea Plateau, one of the three main centres of the groundnut scheme. But the most striking internal development is probably in Northern Rhodesia, now in full boom thanks to the world price of copper. It is impossible to list all the plans and completed projects, but 1950 budgets for an expenditure of £13,370,383, on 1½m. Africans and 50,000 whites. No other territory has money of such proportions lavished on a population of such a size. At the same time, the country is putting up immigration regulations, to prevent the flow of fortune hunters from overseas and the Union of South Africa.



CEYLON is now pressing for the Ceylonisation of all firms, with at least 15 per cent. made up of her own nationals, and only 25 per cent. profits removed each year from the country. At the same time, the House of Representatives has restricted the franchise to Ceylonese, excluding Indians and others. Further west, Mauritius remains caught, halfway through a change of power, by

the grant of the vote to the poorer classes, many of them Indian; and the legislature is the scene of many unedifying scuffles. On the plane of ideas, an immediate issue is the teaching of religion in schools. In the Sudan, with the new constitution, the struggle turns largely on language. The new Minister of Education, Ali Taha, wishes to plant Arabic in the South, *the land of the slaves*, ousting the local Nilotic languages and English, which has been the main language of education and the missions.



IN the Caribbean we may perhaps pursue that neglected thing, local self-consciousness and self-expression, as opposed to self-assertion, remembering that 'Nationalism' as such, is not, at the moment, a very positive thing in many colonial areas, where the resistance is mainly negative. Unlike the new European nations, in the nineteenth century, the 'nations' in the tropics have evolved, up till now, no literature. This is what makes the opening of a library at Trelawney in Jamaica so symptomatic. For the first book in this first parish library was the recent novel *New Day* by Victor Reid, an account of the 1865 rising against Governor Eyre. On the other hand, the wider development of Caribbean self-expression, through short stories, sketches, criticism and poetry is being fostered by the rather improbable agency of the B.B.C., which has been running a half-hourly programme weekly for the last three or four years, eliciting well over 50 local writers good enough to be reproduced, with a dozen or so having real talent, and two or three outstanding. Such work, from London, is slightly anomalous by the old standards of cultural relations, and it must be interim, until it is taken over by West Indians in the West Indies, helped perhaps by the British Council. But will this ever be the case? No doubt, in time, there may grow up a sufficient public for the admirable little reviews like BIM in Barbados; but of this, at the moment there is no sign. As for radio, there is a dangerous tendency in these 'backward' regions for uninterested bureaucrats to hand over all broadcasting to Redifusion Ltd., a commercial company for wired communications, with the usual outlook and ethos of their kind. Already, Redifusion plays its part in Trinidad, Barbados, and Guiana. It has just spread to Ceylon, and it is making efforts to control Jamaica. The Government of Malaya has refused it, although it was recommended by a special committee. It is a question that needs very serious consideration by colonial peoples. Happily, the British Government are advancing £2m. for broadcasting systems in Africa, and a general network for Nigeria is being actively pursued at the moment, at an initial cost of several hundreds of thousands of pounds.



THERE were a number of misprints in *Compass-Points* last month, some of them very obvious ones. Not £10,000 but £100,000 have been ploughed back into Cameroons' welfare; not 30,000 people in 40,000 families but 300,000, will eventually use the Gal Oya (not *Galoya*) project. We are also told that in Java *Tan Malakka* are not half but wholly communist.

Venturer

COLONIAL OPINION

The Protection of European Interests

The primary and vital interest of the white people in Africa, is the maintenance of the highest moral, intellectual and cultural standards of their civilisation. This embraces education, character, and the standards of living. Those of the white people who think that the going down of a European family is a shame, not only to that particular family, but even to every one else of European blood, are right, and I therefore support, wholeheartedly, the desire of a white man to maintain the essentials of his civilised life. Anything other than this would be truly unthinkable.

But if the maintenance of essential European standard of living in Africa becomes impossible without arbitrarily restricting the human rights of Africans and their hopes for progress, one is justified to say, white people ought not to be in Africa. . .

Europeans have every right to be free in their homeland, Europe. The same should apply to Africans, in their homeland, Africa. Africa is the only land which an African has right to call his own, the only place where he should be genuinely at home. If opportunity for the going forward of his race are denied in Africa, where else in the whole wide world will they be found? In heaven? But that is needed by all under the sun.

Destocking or culling, or removing of Africans from place to place, and the reduction of their lands, have left no hope of advancement in an African. Africans have feelings. They feel it if any injustice is meted out to them, in the same way the Europeans feel if they are wronged. Feelings are in nature and they can't be avoided. This matter, indeed, demands the Europeans' and Africans' utmost circumspection.

Letter from E. M. Mhuri, Shabani,
Bantu Mirror, Bulawayo, 2 July, 1949.

Why Blame the Workers?

The workers live on the verge of subsistence all the time and spend all their wages. They press for more wages, not out of mischief, but out of necessity.

If 'eminent' correspondents for the local papers can pause and think, they will discover that the crux of labour problems in this or any other country is NOT the relation of the workers to imaginary taxpayers, 'who give all and receive nothing' but :—

(a) The distribution of national income as between the wage-earning workers, and the salary earning and profit-making members of the community; and

(b) The level of prices and rent.

The average salary of the European in the Senior Service to-day is £1,050 a year. The average African Senior Civil Servant earns £600 a year. The general average in the Junior Service is £130. The average worker earns £60 a year and the unestablished staff about £42 a year.

Whilst the salary-earners in the Senior Service have all sorts of allowances, the worker has to make do with his wage unless he happens to do overtime, when he earns a trifle more. . .

Is it unreasonable that they should demand more wages in the circumstance? All they do is merely to call upon the salary earners for a fairer share with them of the

goods and services available in the face of rising prices and rent. . .

One is sometimes driven to desperation to realise that reason and genteel approach to Government in almost any matter generally results in smoke. The Government always gives you the impression of infallibility and perfection which, unfortunately, is dispelled by the pressure from quarters less rational and less genteel. The bad boys manage to get a few concessions. The good boys get nothing. As with industrial dispute, so with political matters and colonial administration generally.

It is almost a crime for the weak to be gentle as well. Reforms are hardly ever achieved by petitions and submissions. Commissions of Inquiry follow strikes, riots and disorders. Just and legitimate aspirations are suppressed until the weak sums up enough courage to warn the tyrant not to presume too much on the patience of mankind. . .

What of cars supplied to Senior Service-men out of the Revenue? The Government gives you advance to buy a car and gives you 'Basic Allowance' to pay it off. I am informed that Government has already advanced £500,000 on cars for civil servants and that basic allowance costs the revenue at least £5,000 a month. . .

Why say that £40,000 extra to the workers will kill the taxpayers' goose, when £500,000 are outstanding on motor cars and millions are being spent on phantom development?

To me the logic is fantastic.

H. O. Davies, in *The Daily Service*, Lagos,
September 7, 1949.

Education and Nationalism

On another page we publish a report by our staff reporter on Mass Education in Calabar and district. While the report gives reasonable grounds for encouragement, it cannot be said to be ideal, and, whatever else it shows, it certainly shows that at this rate of progress it will be certainly more than one generation before mass illiteracy is liquidated in this town and division. 820 pupils attending mass education classes in a town and division with a total population of well over 60,000 does not spell any real determined community action to liquidate the devil of illiteracy.

The reason is that our leaders and the politically conscious literate masses are content to shout for self-government to-morrow, while they sit back supinely doing nothing to lay the foundations upon which that independence must be built. Nothing could more show a people's unfitness for self-government than its ineptitude for self-help and its tendency to demand that everything should be done for it by the very government from which it demands emancipation.

Mass education is the business of every literate patriot. One hour emancipating an illiterate brother from the bonds of illiteracy is worth a year of political controversy. The organisation is there as described in our report on another page. What are local patriots doing to build on that framework? Why are there not at least 20,000 adult pupils attending mass education classes? Is there any adult citizen, male or female, who cannot afford to give at least two hours a week of his or her time to emancipate this Division from the slavery of illiteracy?

The Nigerian Eastern Mail, October 8, 1949.

DANGER SIGNALS

WE make no apology for devoting nearly the whole of this number of *Venture* to African problems, with particular stress on the racial issue. The shadow of South Africa is lengthening over the whole continent, and some of the South African Nationalist spirit is manifesting itself elsewhere. In Southern Rhodesia Mr. Charles Olley has announced the formation of a 'White Rhodesia Council' to oppose the federation of Southern Rhodesia with the 'black north' of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and to maintain white supremacy in a new Dominion of Southern Rhodesia. The plan includes a separate voters' roll for Africans, and the Council 'is not prepared to countenance direct representation by Natives under any circumstances.' Speaking on November 26, Mr. Olley said of Northern Rhodesia that he 'did not see why Southern Rhodesia should share in the expense of subsidising an unproductive Native area twice the size of itself.' He thus revealed that federation would be supported only with a view to increased white settlement, which is precisely what Northern Rhodesian Africans had feared.

A similar indiscretion has been committed by the Kenya Electors' Union in the publication of the *Kenya Plan*.^{*} We give below a correspondent's account of the plan and some of the opinions expressed upon it.

Kenya Plan

The aim of the *Plan* is clearly stated: it is 'a British East African Dominion' sustained by the faith expressed by Field-Marshal Smuts in a speech at Oxford in 1929, in which he spoke of 'the establishment of a white community inside Africa, which will form the steel framework of the whole ambitious structure of African civilisation.' It involves the expansion of European settlement in Tanganyika and the ending of U.N.O. control, and co-operation between the East, Central and South African territories as far as is practicable.

In Kenya also European settlement must be encouraged. From 1946-1948 there was a net influx of over 8,000 new European settlers, an increase which 'has no parallel in any other period of the Colony's history.' The *Plan* proposes selective immigration designed to build up a population which will maintain 'the British way of life'—that is, Indian immigration should be severely controlled, and Kenya-born Indians should be regarded as full citizens only if they become assimilated to the British way of life. For the Africans, on the other hand, the *Plan* avoids 'too hasty a destruction of indigenous institutions.' Building on better education and health services, a community of 'developed' Africans is to be created, but still dependent on the Europeans, for whom Lord Delamere's words are quoted, 'Get rid of fear for your own future and the whole outlook changes. Natives would then no longer loom as something alien-protected, right or wrong, by Downing Street . . . They at once become part of our people whom it is our duty to encourage and protect.'

And how are the Europeans to get rid of their fear? By the rapid development of local government outside the African areas, under European leadership, and at the centre, 'the greatest possible executive control by the

European community.' With European conscription and an improved police force, they should feel a little better.

The basis of all this is, of course, the land. One good suggestion is that settlers taking up land under settlement schemes should be carefully selected. But land must be cheap, and held either freehold or on a 999-year lease without revisable rent, and the settler 'must be free from petty annoyance of Government inspectors and regulations.' In African areas, however, to save the soil, 'there may have to be coercion' as a last resort. Details of a positive policy for African land have not yet been thought out, but are promised. But astounding clarity has already been achieved on the supply of labour. When Africans adopt sound agricultural practices, there will 'come into being a landless African population who will be obliged . . . to earn their living by working for others. Then, and only then, will the fear of the sack become absolutely real.'

The Plan Opposed

The *Plan* has been criticised in Kenya by the European Elected Members to the Legislative Council and by the *Kenya Weekly News*, which has formerly supported the Electors' Union. *East Africa and Rhodesia* published on November 24 the statements from the European Elected Members' Organisation and the Indian Association of Kenya. The Elected Members deny responsibility for the views expressed, and state:—

'The European elected members wish to emphasise that they consider that the progress of Kenya depends largely upon racial tolerance and harmony under British leadership. Whilst the *Kenya Plan* cannot be regarded as an authoritative statement of the policy of the elected members, they agree that many of the suggestions in the plan will form the basis of future policies on different aspects of Kenya's problems.'

The Indian Association says:—

'It is necessary for every non-European in East Africa to study carefully the *Kenya Plan*, prepared and published by a European organisation representing 30,000 Europeans only among a total population of over 5,000,000.

The *Plan* leaves no room for doubt that the desire of this handful of the European community is to dominate permanently over all other politically, economically and socially.

This Association categorically rejects the claim of this small European community settled in Kenya to control the affairs of this country and believes that the constitutional development must ultimately and inevitably take place on the lines of the Gold Coast in West Africa with a transitional period when the three major communities, Africans, Asians and Europeans, must be equally represented in the legislative and executive authority of this country.

In the opinion of this association, the time has now arrived when the three major communities of Kenya must be represented in equal number in the Legislative Council, and must be given an equal voice in the administration of the country, and, pending the introduction of such an arrangement, the ultimate and effective power must remain with His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.'

^{*}The *Kenya Plan*. Kenya Electors' Union. Nairobi. 2/50.

African Opposition

African opposition was expressed in a letter to the *East African Standard* on October 7, 1949, by the senior African Member of the Legislative Council, the Hon. Eliud Mathu. He wrote:—

'The Electors' Union' . . . considers that the time has come to demand from His Majesty's Government an unequivocal statement "of restraint of political advance for the African until such time as he attains a sense of civil responsibility." This is a most frank statement by a political organisation supported by most of the Europeans in Kenya; it is a most dangerous and challenging statement to the African people in Kenya, and I sincerely hope that the Africans will not ignore it. . . .

I entirely disagree with the suggestion that the African in Kenya has "no sense of civic responsibility." The European community has been the first to praise the African policeman for his devotion to duty and deep sense of responsibility; the tribal policeman also has demonstrated his sense of civic responsibility; the African Chiefs and Headmen are the most loyal and faithful servants of the country, and the administration would have been impossible without them.

'In the field of Local Government the African has shown an undeniable "sense of civic responsibility." In just over a quarter of a century the African finances a

substantial part of his local services through his local Native Councils. . . . The African rates himself voluntarily through the local Native Councils, while practically all European District Councils have refused to rate themselves. . . . In Municipal Councils and Municipal Boards the African has shown his ability to handle public affairs without fear or favour. . . . The part that the African has played in the Legislative Council and on a number of Government Councils, Boards and Committees, is not without significance. . . .

'If the policy outlined in the *Kenya Plan* is implemented I believe that the future of the African, political, economic or social, would be doomed. It is fair and sound that the African should also take steps to demand from His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom a categorical statement as to his political future. The Electors' Union desire to reverse the Duke of Devonshire's policy of the paramountcy of African interests. The Devonshire White Paper of 1923 stated that . . . "if and when these interests [i.e. of the African Natives] and the interests of the immigrant races shall conflict the former shall prevail" . . .

'I wish to draw the attention of the public to the fact that the Electors' Union's endeavour to curb political advancement of the African would be tantamount to a declaration of political war.'

CORRESPONDENCE

Mission Lands in Nyasaland

Sir,—My attention has been drawn to a letter in your October issue referring to the Church of Scotland Mission of Livingstonia and to the lands it holds in Northern Nyasaland. Knowing something of Africa and of the place of the land in the thinking of Africans, I can appreciate the feeling out of which Mr. Mkandawire writes. I would suggest, however, that he has misrepresented the attitude and influence of the Livingstonia Mission.

1. Whatever be the history of the lands regarding which Mr. Mkandawire writes there can be no doubt that the Mission is responsible for the lands it holds and is assessed by Government for Land Tax. The original dwellers on the land are no longer there, and even your correspondent's family were incomers in the times of the Ngoni Wars. From your correspondent's own account, all that the present dwellers on the land are asked to pay is something approximating to the refund of the Land Tax already paid by the Mission.

2. The following summarises a statement made recently to the Nyasaland Government on the Mission's land policy. 'The Committee regards its estates in the Livingstonia Mission as a trust to be used for the benefit of the African people through the work of the Mission. It has never sought to make money from the estates except to provide resources for the development of the work of the Mission. On the other hand, it has spent many thousands of pounds on the work of the Mission throughout the years (£125,000 on Overton District alone since 1929) and has thus contributed to the educational, economic and medical development of the territory. It desires

to co-operate with Government to secure that land, which is not necessary to the Mission or which the Mission cannot develop, shall be sold to Government for use in the interests of the African people, and the proceeds used for the development of the land retained. The Committee has consistently refused attractive offers from Europeans for the sale of Mission Lands and prefers to deal with Government only, but it has no means of providing funds for development of the land it retains other than by sale of the land it cannot use.'

The Mission is now negotiating with Government regarding the transfer of a very large acreage for use as Native Trust Land in return for refund of Land Tax.

3. It is a well-known fact that without the work of the Mission Northern Nyasaland would have had neither schools nor medical facilities nor other amenities such as it enjoys to-day. Nor would its sons have been equipped to travel far afield, as your correspondent has done, to earn their living in richer territories.

The Mission does not ask for thanks or praise, for its work has been done in the name of Christ and for the sake of the people of Nyasaland, but the Mission does expect to be fairly represented before the public.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

John A. T. Beattie
(Africa Secretary).

The Church of Scotland
Foreign Mission Committee,
121, George Street, Edinburgh.

To the Editor, *Venture*.

Guide to Books

Last Chance in Africa

By Negley Farson. (Victor Gollancz. 15s.)

The shape of Mr. Farson's provocative new book is determined by the route he followed through Kenya, but his principal theme emerges quite clearly: it is that in Kenya and Tanganyika there lies 'the last chance in Africa for the working out of a truly representative civilisation in which the black man and the white man can live on terms of peace, co-operation, and something like equality.' And what about the brown man? One feels that Mr. Farson aims at this 'representative civilisation' largely as a matter of convenience rather than from any philosophical conviction in its favour—consequently he does not answer the segregationist school of thought, but on the other hand does not come out wholeheartedly in favour of cultural fusion.

The Kenya settlers are just the healthy, open-air lot that would appeal to Mr. Farson, and he does them, and the officials, full justice. But he roundly condemns the high-handed attitude towards Africans adopted by some Europeans, and he comes near to trespassing in the holy of holies by saying bluntly that the solution to African poverty and problems of African agriculture are not to be found in the Reserves, but must sooner or later impinge on the 'white' highlands. He goes deeper (though, no doubt, not deep enough for the anthropologist) in his accounts of African resistance to agricultural improvements and of the emergence of religious cults that seem to indicate a turning away from the white man and his standards.

In saying just this in a popular form Mr. Farson has done Kenya a service, and the academic student can take in his stride all the escapism, but most enjoyable, descriptions of wild life, both human and animal, which Mr. Farson does so well. There are, however, two complaints to make. First, why is there no index? Second, more serious, what causes him to say, in reference to the Masai and Somali, that 'the Fabians and their like at home... are really out of date in striving to make the Africans struggle for independence and self-rule;... their well-meant efforts will deliver the desperately backward and half-educated Africans into the worst political and industrial bondage they have ever known?' Surely we have made it clear by now that we are not in favour of self-government for Kenya until a very much more integrated society has been developed than yet exists there? M. N.

African Switzerland—Basutoland of To-day

By Eric Rosenthal. (Hutchinson. 15s.)

One could have wished, after reading Mr. Rosenthal's fascinating book on his travels in the mountainous territory of Basutoland, that he had not devoted merely one short chapter to the future of that country. His book, with its detailed description of people and places encountered on his journey, certainly fills a gap in the bibliography on African territories, but it puts forward no personal statement of policy towards the Union of South Africa on the vital question of incorporation; nor does it suggest an answer for the alleviation of the economic problems of Basutoland—notably the large-scale emigration of young men to the mines of Johannesburg.

This is definitely not a book for the economist or the politician. The historian would find much to interest him in the dramatic epic of Moshesh, founder of the Basuto nation; but *African Switzerland* is primarily a book for the collector of travellers' tales. B. C.

W. E. Henley

By John Connell. (Constable. 21s.)

W. E. Henley—poet, journalist, editor, critic, and 'boisterous and piratical personality'—was a leading figure in the nationalist-imperialist revival of the '80s and '90s. 'What can I do for you England, my England?' he sang:—

"With your glorious eyes austere,
As the Lord were walking near,
Whispering terrible things and dear
As the song on your bugles blown,
England,
As the song on your bugles blown, England,
Round the world on your bugles blown."

As editor of the *National Observer* he gave the young Wells his first chance as a short-story writer, and invited young Shaw to do reviews for him; but at the same time he brought all his big (or at any rate noisy) guns to bear on Progress, Socialism, Fabianism, the New Spirit, and everything else which he contemptuously regarded as 'Bleat.'

Mr. Connell, forty-odd years after Henley's death, has written the first full biography of him. He makes it clear that he is in sympathy with Henley's political views. It is the more surprising, therefore, to find him declaring that the practical policies Henley advocated for the Empire 'are now the eager commonplaces of the Fabian Society's Colonial Research Bureau.' One pictures Henley's purple wrath at such a comparison!

But, politics apart, Henley was a lovable and fascinating human being, and Mr. Connell has written a highly readable book. J. F. H.

Africana

Almost a year ago we welcomed the appearance of a new magazine, *AFRICANA*, published quarterly by The West African Society.

We are pleased to note from the three numbers which have come to hand that the standard of this publication has remained consistently high.

The contents of Vol. I, No. 3, for example, include a research article on the life of the great Afro-American, George Washington Carver, articles on Yoruba Ancient Religion and Mythology, Female Education in Sierra Leone, Neo-African Art in the Gold Coast, as well as historical and general items, a section devoted to home life and folk lore, and poems, stories and vignettes. The statement of the Aims of the Society starts with the words: 'No people can achieve greatness without a literature of their own... The West African Society has been formed to stimulate research into the myriad phases of African life.' The Society is open to all, and its membership is now about 400. Annual subscription 10s. (5s. for those under 21).

AFRICANA is obtainable from W. H. Smith & Sons' Bookstalls, and from the Headquarters of the Society, 13, Chelsea Embankment, S.W.3, price 2s., but is free to members of the West African Society.

Parliament

N. Rhodesia Maize Prices. Mr. Skinnard asked why the price paid to Europeans for a 200-lb. bag of maize was 30s. while Africans were paid 18s. for the same quantity grown and harvested by identical methods. Mr. Creech Jones replied that the price paid by the Maize Control Board was 27s. per 200-lb. bag this year regardless of the source of production. 3s. extra was paid if a new bag was used. In the case of Africans 18s. was paid directly and the balance of 9s. a bag was paid into the African Farming Improvement Fund. This Fund was used to pay a good farming bonus of 15s. an acre to African farmers using improved methods based on rotational crops and soil conservation. Any balance remaining was used to finance the improvement of African farming and to raise the productivity of the soil. The European farmers, on the other hand, had to finance their own land improvements, conservation work, and roads. (November 9.)

Barbados: Maude Report. Replying to Mr. Skinnard Mr. Creech Jones said that Sir John Maude's Report on local government had been accepted in principle by the Governor in Executive Committee and legislation to give effect to its recommendations was now being prepared. (November 10.)

East Africa: Makerere College. Mr. Skinnard asked whether, in the development of Makerere College as a University institution, it was intended to provide facilities for students of all racial origins in East and Central Africa including Europeans; and if equal opportunities would be afforded for Makerere students to proceed to further education in the United Kingdom. Mr. Creech Jones said that the answer to both Questions was in the affirmative. (November 16.)

Kenya: Regulation of Public Meetings. Mr. Skinnard asked for the regulations governing the meetings of Africans in Kenya to discuss their own racial problems; and why special difficulties have occurred in the Fort Hall and Nyeri Districts recently leading to a prohibition of such meetings. Mr. Rees-Williams replied that public assemblies in Kenya are regulated under Section 30 of the Police Ordinance of 1948 which was of general application; that the regulations were on the same lines as in this country and that the African Member of Legislative Council, Mr. Mathu, had expressed appreciation of this Ordinance. He was asking for information on the special difficulties mentioned (November 23.)

Detained Persons in Malaya and Singapore. In reply to a question by Mr. Piratin, Mr. Creech Jones said that 9,865 persons were at present detained under the Emergency Regulations and that 808 persons had been detained for more than one year. (November 24.)

Nigeria: Trade Union Conditions at Enugu. In reply to Mr. H. D. Hughes, Mr. Creech Jones said the Colliery Workers' Union at Enugu was registered in 1941 and had been recognised for negotiating purposes except during a period when it was found not to be representative of the workers. The Union was represented on the Colliery Whitley Council which was formed in 1948. When the go-slow strike began early in November the newly formed Colliery Board, on which Nigerians serve, made every effort to get the men to resume full work; it was only after these efforts had failed that 150 hewers were admitted. He did not know of any wage claim under negotiation. (November 30.)

Nigeria Compensation. Mr. H. D. Hughes asked whether consideration had been given to payment of compensation to the wounded and to the relatives of those killed in the Enugu incident. Mr. Creech Jones said that the matter concerned the Nigerian Government and he was sure that careful consideration would be given. He was asking the Governor to keep him informed. (November 30.)

Nigeria: Police and Firearms. Mr. Sorensen asked whether all Nigerian police carried fire-arms and whether tear-gas and non-lethal weapons were available in cases of industrial disturbance. Mr. Creech Jones said that the Nigerian police did not normally carry fire-arms and that they were trained in the use of tear-smoke and that supplies were maintained in Nigeria. (November 30.)

Nigeria. Other questions on disturbances and labour conditions in Nigeria were asked on November 30 and December 7. A statement was made on November 28.

South African Officials in High Commission Territories. In reply to a Question by Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Noel-Baker said that at the beginning of 1949 the number of European officials from South Africa were 159 in Basutoland; 197 in Bechuanaland and 139 in Swaziland. (December 1.)

Picketing in Industrial Disputes. Mr. Sorensen asked in what Colonies picketing during industrial disputes was illegal or prohibited, temporarily or otherwise. Mr. Rees-Williams said that in no colonial territory was peaceful picketing prohibited by law. In a number of territories, picketing in such numbers or otherwise in such manner as to be calculated to intimidate was unlawful. In reply to a supplementary question Mr. Rees-Williams said that he was not aware that peaceful picketing had been prohibited in Nigeria at any time during the last six months. (December 7.)

British Guiana: Constitutional Change. In reply to Mr. Rankin, Mr. Rees-Williams said that the Governor had invited all concerned in the Colony to be ready to submit their views to the forthcoming Commission of Enquiry into changes in the franchise and the composition of the Legislative Council. The Governor would take every opportunity of consulting all classes in the community and the Commission should arrive by the end of 1950 so as to be ready for the next election of the Council in 1953. (December 7.)

Use of Arabic in the Sudan. Replying to Mr. F. Noel-Baker, Mr. Mayhew made the following statement. On 27th October the Sudan Legislative Assembly passed a resolution recommending that 'Arabic should eventually become the only official language of the country, and that the necessary steps to make this possible be speeded up without prejudice to efficiency and economy.' The Executive Council of the Sudan had taken note of this resolution but had not yet reached any decision regarding it. The Executive Council had recently decided that Arabic should ultimately become the language of instruction up to and including intermediary schools in the Southern Provinces of the Sudan, and the Legislative Assembly had endorsed this policy. The speed with which this policy could be implemented would naturally be governed by the supply of qualified teachers of Arabic. (December 14.)

SONG OF THE MEMSAHIB

(To be sung to the tune of 'Mad About the Boy'.)

Leave it to the Boy,
The Dona's anthem here it is;
Leave it to the Boy.
He brings your early tea and shaving water
just as soon as you have
Shouted for the Boy;
Later you enjoy
The breakfast dishes all
Invented by the Boy,
For this is not a white man's country and
to keep yourself in trim you
Leave it to the Boy.

Leave it to the Boy,
Our lovely gardens, too, are
Tended by the Boy;
You give him cabbages and celery and
brussels sprouts and they're all
Planted by the Boy;
It's the Dona's joy
To see the vegetables
Brought in by the Boy,
But all the sowing and the weeding and
the watering of course we
Leave it to the Boy.

Leave it to the Boy,
Our morning tea-parties are
Founded on the Boy.
We just unlock the store and take some
flour and give it to him and it's all
Weighed out by the Boy;
How the guests enjoy
The cakes and biscuits that are
Handed by the Boy,
But all the mixing and the beating and the
baking, why, of course, we
Leave it to the Boy.

Leave it to the Boy,
Our hospitality's
Dependent on the Boy.
For we can sundowner till nine o'clock and
then sit down to dinner
Warmed up by the Boy.
We become all coy
When complimented on the
Efforts of the Boy;
For in the tropics we all do too much and
get so tired we have to
Leave it to the Boy.

Central Africa News Review. October 21, 1949.

For Reference January, 1950

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Activities of the Bureau

Colonial Trade Unionists

A meeting was arranged in the House of Commons on November 24, under the chairmanship of Mr. R. Sorensen, M.P., for members of the Advisory Committee of the Bureau and members of the Colonial Affairs Group of the Parliamentary Labour Party to meet the colonial delegates to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Short speeches were given by the delegates from the Leeward Islands, Sierra Leone, Mauritius and British Honduras. Members of Parliament were warmly interested in the first-hand information. Questions were asked and discussion took place on ways and means of assisting the colonial trade unionists in their work in the Colonies. The delegates were invited to attend the meetings of the Trade Union Group of the Parliamentary Labour Party in the House of Commons while in this country.

★ ★ ★

Kenya Land Settlement

We print on page 4 of this issue the reply of the Secretary of State to a letter from the Bureau. This reply was considered by the Bureau's Advisory Committee and a further letter has been sent with suggestions, including the allocation of a portion of the 'white' highlands of Kenya for non-racial settlement conditional on good farming.

★ ★ ★

Dilemmas in Planning

The third Autumn meeting was held on December 1, with Mr. C. Dumbleton, M.P., in the Chair. Mr. H. D. Hughes, M.P., outlined a series of dilemmas—the Malthusian, the economic, the political and the technical dilemmas in the development of the Colonies, illustrating the problems from his West African experience. Mr. Arthur Skeffington, M.P., expressed himself in general agreement with Mr. Hughes and developed the points discussed from his knowledge of East Africa.

★ ★ ★

Pamphlet on Uganda

The next pamphlet to be published by the Bureau will be *Troubled Uganda*. The author is Mr. E. M. K. Mulira, lecturer at the School of Oriental and African Studies. It gives an African point of view on recent developments in Uganda.

FABIAN

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